

Message Text

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 STATE 201782 TOSEC 100130

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TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY

UNCLAS STATE 201782 TOSEC 100130

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS:SOPN (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT:EXCERPTS OF "AGRONSKY & COMPANY", SATURDAY, AUGUST
23, 1975

FOR AMBASSADOR ANDERSON FROM S/PRS (FUNSETH)

NO. 14

FOLLOWING IS EXCERPT OF "AGRONSKY & COMPANY" BROADCAST
ON WTOP AND OTHER STATIONS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY;
PARTICIPANTS: MARTIN AGRONSKY, MODERATOR; GEORGE WILL;
JAMES KILPATRICK; PETER LISAGOR AND MARTIN NOLAN.

AGRONSKY: THE SECRETARY OF STATE IS OUT WHERE THE OIL IS
AT THIS POINT, TRYING TO RESTART THE EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI
SHUTTLE, RUNNING INTO DEMONSTRATIONS ON THE ISRAELI SIDE,
INDICATING THAT A LOT OF PEOPLE IN ISRAEL FEEL THAT RABIN
HAS GONE TOO FAR. IN EGYPT, APPARENTLY, HE'S NOT RUNNING
INTO POPULAR DEMONSTRATIONS WHILE SADAT AND HIS ADVISORS
CONSIDER WHAT THE ISRAELIS ARE PROPOSING. INDICATIONS ARE,
THOUGH, THAT IT'S GOING TO BE TOUGHER THAN WAS ANTICI-
PATED. ANY INSIGHT?

WILL: WELL, I THINK THE DEMONSTRATIONS ARE INTERESTING

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 201782 TOSEC 100130

BECAUSE IT INDICATES THE PROBLEMS RABIN HAS. I THINK

THEY ARE VERY POIGNANT AND SHOULD BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY. THE JEWS IN THIS CENTURY HAVE LEARNED, MORE QUICKLY FOR

OBVIOUS REASONS THAN THE REST OF US, THAT THE UNTHINKABLE IS NOT ONLY THINKABLE BUT DOABLE.

AGRONSKY: AND HAPPENED ...

WILL: AND HAPPENED. AND THERE IS, I THINK, A HAUNTING FEELING, PARTICULARLY AMONG YOUNGER JEWS, THAT PERHAPS THE OLDER GENERATION WAS TOO PASSIVE IN THE FACE OF THE HOLOCAUST. THERE IS THE FEELING THAT KILLING JEWS HAS BEEN RISK-FREE IN THIS CENTURY, THE FEELING THAT SACRIFICING JEWISH INTEREST ON THE ALTAR OF GREAT STATE BLOC-POLITIQUE IS A TRADITION IN THIS CENTURY, AND ALL OF THIS IS COMING TO A HEAD IN THAT PASSIONATE SCENE IN TEL AVIV, AND THUS SHOULD BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY.

KILPATRICK: WELL, I DON'T KNOW ANYTHING BETTER THAN I READ IN THE NEWSPAPERS - IT LOOKS TO ME AS IF SOME CONCESSIONS HAVE TO BE MADE BY ISRAEL IF THERE IS GOING TO BE A PEACE SETTLEMENT. WHAT DO YOU WANT TO DO, GEORGE, JUST GO BACK AND GO TO WAR?

WILL: WELL, I'D LIKE EGYPT TO MAKE ONE CONCESSION. I WOULD LIKE TO SEE SADAT ONCE SAY THAT HE IS PREPARED TO LIVE AT PEACE WITH ISRAEL. HE HAS BEEN INVITED TO SAY THAT REPEATEDLY, AND HAS REPEATEDLY DECLINED, WHICH ENCOURAGES THE REASONABLE INFERENCE THAT HE DOESN'T MEAN TO LIVE AT PEACE.

LISAGOR: WELL, IT ENCOURAGES THE INFERENCE THAT HE'S AFRAID OF HIS NEIGHBORS, HIS LESS-MODERATE ARAB NEIGHBORS; I THINK THAT'S THE SIMPLE SIZE OF IT. HE HAS TO BE THE MOST MODERATE AT THE MOMENT OF THE ARAB LEADERS AND HE IS TRYING TO WORK OUT SOMETHING HERE.

AGRONSKY: THERE HAS BEEN AN INDICATION THAT SUPPORTS THE POINT YOU MAKE ... I SUPPOSE WHAT YOU HAD IN MIND WHEN YOU SPOKE OF SADAT'S CONCERN THAT HE WAS TAKING A MODERATE UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 201782 TOSEC 100130

POSITION AND HE HAD TO BE CONCERNED ABOUT MORE EXTREME POSITIONS ON THE PART OF THE OTHER ARAB COUNTRIES -- THE ANNOUNCEMENT WE JUST HAD THAT JORDAN AND SYRIA HAVE MADE SOME KIND OF POLITICAL CONFEDERATION, NOT A MILITARY ALLIANCE, IN WHICH THEY SAY THAT EGYPT CANNOT CONCLUDE AN AGREEMENT WITH ISRAEL ALONE BUT MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE RIGHTS OF PALESTINE, OF THE PLO I SUPPOSE, AND ALSO THE GOLAN HEIGHTS IN SYRIA.

LISAGOR: THAT'S RIGHT, HIS POLITICAL SURVIVAL IS AT STAKE, JUST AS RABIN'S IS AND JUST AS HAK'S REPUTATION IS IN THIS LATEST SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY. I WOULD LIKE TO MAKE

ONE POINT THAT AMERICANS OUGHT TO BE CONCERNED ABOUT HERE, AND THAT IS THAT WE ARE IN EFFECT BUYING A SETTLEMENT IN THE ME. SADAT NEEDS MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE SOME LIQUID CASH, IN ORDER TO BAIL HIMSELF OUT, AND AFTER SALZBURG I AM PERSUADED WE HAVE VIRTUALLY ASSURED HIM THAT WE WILL POUR IN AN AWFUL LOT OF MONEY INTO EGYPT, UPWARDS OF A BILLION DOLLARS, PERHAPS EVEN MORE. THE ISRAELIS KNOW ALL TOO WELL THAT THE U.S. CAN AND PROBABLY WILL COME CLOSE TO TURNING ITS WATER OFF, BOTH ON MILITARY AND ECONOMIC AID, UNLESS THEY KICK THROUGH WITH THIS AGREEMENT. WE'VE GOT TREMENDOUS LEVERS, NOT ONLY ON THE ISRAELIS -- TO BE SURE THEY'RE GREATER ON THEM -- BUT WE ALSO HAVE A LEVER ON THE EGYPTIANS, AND I THINK WE'RE WILLING NOW TO SHELL IT OUT TO GET AN AGREEMENT. AND ONE OTHER POINT, QUICKLY, IS THE 200 AMERICANS. I THINK WE ARE GOING TO HAVE A CONTROVERSY OVER 200 AMERICANS BEING INJECTED INTO THE SITUATION AS CIVILIAN UNARMED TECHNICIANS, TO RUN THE EARLY-WARNING STATIONS. SO HAK'S A LONG WAY FROM BEING HOME FREE IN THIS SITUATION, EVEN THOUGH I BELIEVE THAT HE WOULD NOT HAVE GONE OUT THERE IF HE WASN'T REASONABLY SURE THAT HE'S GOING TO BRING BACK ANOTHER INTERIM SETTLEMENT. AND SADAT HAS BEEN EMBOLDENED AGAINST BOTH JORDAN AND SYRIA BY THE AWARENESS OR THE EXPECTATION THAT HE'S GOING TO BE BAILED OUT BY THE U.S.

WILL: WELL, ABOUT SADAT'S PUTATIVE MODERATION, I PROFOUNDLY HOPE YOU'RE RIGHT. BUT WE HEARD THE SAME THING ABOUT KRUSCHEV AND WE HEAR IT ABOUT BREZHNEV, THAT UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 201782 TOSEC 100130

WHEN THEY MISBEHAVE IT'S ONLY BECAUSE THEY'RE MOLLIFYING THE RIGHT-WINGERS IN THEIR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS. THE FACT IS THAT SADAT ALWAYS SOUNDS MODERATE ON AMERICAN TV, AND HE'S ON AMERICAN TV RATHER A LOT. HE SOUNDS MODERATE WHEN GIVING THESE EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEWS TO AMERICAN JOURNALISTS. WHEN HE SAYS TO HIS OWN PEOPLE WHAT HE SAYS TO ABC TV, THEN THERE WILL BE MORE REASON FOR CREDITING HIS MODERATION.

LISAGOR: I THINK IT'S MODERATION IN RELATION TO OTHERS IN THE ARAB WORLD, GEORGE, I DON'T WANT TO BE MISUNDERSTOOD ON THIS. I THINK HE IS TAKING A BOLD ACTION IN TERMS OF HIS ARAB NEIGHBORS NOW, HE KNOWS THAT HE COULD BE ASSASSINATED TOMORROW, BECAUSE THAT'S A VERY VIOLENT WORLD, AND I THINK HE'S SHOWING SOME COURAGE IN THIS

SITUATION.

AGRONSKY: PETER, THERE'S A BITTER TRUTH AS THE ISRAELIS SEE IT IN THEIR WHOLE SITUATION AND THE KIND OF PRESSURE THAT IS BEING BROUGHT TO THEM BY THE U.S., THAT THE ISRAELIS EXPRESS WHEN THEY SAY "WE WON'T DIE FOR OTHER

PEOPLE'S OIL." NOW THAT UNDERWRITES A LOT OF THIS ...

LISAGOR: AND WE HAVEN'T MENTIONED OIL YET AS PART OF OUR IMPULSE.

NOLAN : THERE'S ONE THING IN THE WHOLE ME PICTURE: WE EMPHASIZE OPTIMISM, BECAUSE WE HOPE THAT HAK COMES BACK NOT EMPTY-HANDED. EVER SINCE THE BALFOUR DECLARATION, ALL OF THE PEOPLE IN THAT AREA HAVE HAD NO REASON TO TRUST WESTERN PROMISES, AND NOW BOTH ISRAEL AND EGYPT ARE BEING ASKED TO DEPEND UPON A FEW THOUSAND OR A HUNDRED TECHNICIANS FROM RAYTHEON UP IN THE MOUNTAIN PASSES TO PROTECT THE PEACE, AND I SAY THAT'S ASKING AN AWFUL LOT OF THOSE PEOPLE, WHO HAVE WITNESSED GENERATIONS OF WESTERN DUPLICITY.

AGRONSKY: AND I SAY THAT THE ATTITUDE THAT YOU SEE REFLECTED IN ISRAEL NOW DERIVES FROM EXACTLY THAT CONCERN.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 05 STATE 201782 TOSEC 100130

KILPATRICK: YOU STARTED OUT BEING PRETTY OPTIMISTIC AND NOW YOU ALL WIND UP BEING PESSIMISTIC.

AGRONSKY: WELL, I'M NOT REALLY PESSIMISTIC. I THINK THAT THE REALITY OF THE SITUATION IS THAT ISRAEL IS GOING TO YIELD A HELL OF A LOT OF THIS PRESSURE AND WILL YIELD ENOUGH SO THAT AN AGREEMENT CAN BE MADE. I'M JUST TRYING TO SAY THAT ONE SHOULD ALSO TRY TO UNDERSTAND WHAT THEIR CONCERNS ARE. THEY'VE ALWAYS FELT THAT THEY HAD TO BE THE SOLE GUARANTOR OF THEIR SURVIVAL. IT'S HARD FOR THEM TO GIVE THAT UP AND TRUST SOMEONE ELSE.

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